ness to the people if our Garrisons and civil officers were withdrawn and they left to govern themselves as soon as parliament have setled the division of the provinces, and put them in a way to go through with it, nor shou'd we lose any advantage we at present reap from their trade. on the contrary it wou'd by a liberal treaty be very much augmented.

having seen everything in Canada that was the most worth seeing and wishing to get to Europe time enough to participate of the summer I took my passage in a ship nam'd the Chalmly Capn. Cayley bound to Liverpool, and on Wednesday the 6th. at 12 oClock took our departure from Quebec, which exhibits a fine appearance from point Levey. it being a fine day and a pleasant gale our trip down the river was very intertaining, and we had a most delightfull view of the falls of Montmorancy, the Island of Orleans. the shores on each side seem very well setled appearing in a manner as one continued villiage; towards the close of the day We pass'd several Islands, but they don't appear setled. we put our Pilot on shore on Green Island of which he was Lord, the next day, and on Fryday coasted along Anticosta an Island as yet unsetled. it is about 100 Miles long and is capable of producing every necessary of life.

we meant to go by the streights of Bellisle which much shortens the distance going the Northwds. of New Foundland instead of the Southward, but the winds not suiting we gaind the Banks, so that I lost the opportunity of seeing the Esquimaux, who generally board the vessels passing; after coming on the banks a thick fog surrounded us, and the wind subsiding we caught some fish, when the breeze springing up dispell'd the fog a little and we saw several Ships, Brigs etc fishing. after this we had nothing but thick weather with a fair wind till we were near the coast of Ireland, when it cleard up for a day or two.

the 27th. on Thursday we made Cape Clear early in the morning, but the wind coming due South attended by a thick fog we lost sight of it again. some pilot boats boarded us from whom we got some fish and potatoes, but a strong gale coming on I was unluckily prevented landing as was my intention in Ireland. the weather continued thick with a strong gale all Fryday and next morning we made Holy head coasting along the Welch coast under our courses on acct. of the wind, but the weather clear and fine, and affording a good prospect of the country. we got to Liverpool Dock the 30th. in the evening when I instantly stept on shore, and next morning being Sunday was intertain'd with viewing the great improvements that had been made about the exchange and contiguous streets; I found also that several new Docks had been built since I was here in 1784.

3. *Project of Latin-American Confederation, 1856*

The consultations which have been in progress this summer at Rio de Janeiro lend additional interest to the following papers.

For the opportunity to see them, the readers of the REVIEW are indebted to Mr. Luis M. Pérez, who discovered them in the course of his work in the Archivo Nacional of Cuba for the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution, in the preparation of his forthcoming *Guide to the Materials for the History of the United States in Cuban Archives*. It is unusual to be able to present in print the texts of confidential diplomatic documents of so recent date as 1856. Most such documents preserved in the correspondence of the captains-general of Cuba were doubtless included in the large masses of papers transported to Spain in 1898. But, partly by accident, partly through the patriotic foresight of the late Professor Manuel Villanova of the Instituto of Havana, certain portions escaped transportation and were preserved to the national archives of Cuba. The papers here presented are found among the Villanova Papers in that repository, in the bundle devoted to 1856. The translation is furnished by Mr. Pérez. Señor Juan de Zavala was the Spanish secretary of state, Señor Alfonso de Escalante was minister of Spain to the United States, October, 1855–November, 1856. The reader may compare Francisco Bilbao, *Iniciativa de la América: Idea de un Congreso Federal de las Repúblicas* (pph., Paris, 1856); Lastarria, Covarrubias, Santa Maria, and Vicuña Mackenna, *Coleccion de Ensayos i Documentos relativos á la Union i Confederacion de los Pueblos Hispano-Americanos, publicada á espensas de la "Sociedad de la Union Americana de Santiago de Chile"* (Santiago, 1862); and J. M. Torres Caicedo, *Union Latino-Americana, Pensamiento de Bolivar para formar una Liga Americana; su Origen y sus Desarrollos* (Paris, 1865, French edition, Paris, 1875).

I. ZAVALA TO THE CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF CUBA

PRIMERA SECRETARIA DE ESTADO.
DIRECCION POLITICA.

Exmo Señor

Con esta fecha digo al Ministro Plenipotenciario de S.M. en Washington lo que sigue

"Se han recibido en esta Primera Secretaria los Despachos de V.E señalados con los números 18 y 20 y fechados el 23 y 28 de Febrero último, en los que dá cuenta de varias conferencias celebradas en su casa por los representantes de las Repúblicas españolas y del Ymperio del Brasil, con obgeto de formar una especie de Confederacion ó Dieta que asegure su independencia y cuyo proyecto de bases, acordado en una de las reuniones, acompaña V.E. á su comunicación del 23.

"Este pensamiento de estrecha alianza y mútua defensa, en que tanta parte ha tomado V.E., no puede menos de merecer la aprobacion

del Gobierno de S.M. lealmente interesado en el desarrollo de aquellos ricos paises, que durante largos siglos pertenecieron á la Corona de Castilla, y que tienen hoy, y tendrán siempre de comun entre sí, y con nosotros la historia, las costumbres, la religion y el idioma. Agitadas las Republicas españolas por continuas y estériles luchas que aniquilan su vitalidad y las esponen á la ambicion de cualquiera potencia fuerte que en el continente americano se levante, convieneles mas que á los Estados europeos agruparse para hacerse respetables y someter á una autoridad federativa y superior sus contiendas para ir estirpando tanto gérmen de discordias como ahora encierran.

" El Gobierno de S.M. se complace tambien en que desechado el espíritu de intolerancia política, que anteriormente había presidido á esta idea de Congreso americano español, entre á formar parte integrante de él y aun á ser asiento de la futura Confederacion, el imperio del Brasil, nacion importante, de raza afin á la nuestra, y que en el desenvolvimiento progresivo de sus instituciones y de su indústria está probando á las repúblicas sus vecinas, que en la actual situacion del mundo civilizado, la monarquia, lejos de oponer un obstáculo á la libertad y prosperidad de los pueblos, es uno de sus mas firmes apoyos y de sus mas eficaces protectores.

" De desear es por lo tanto que el proyecto de que V.E. habla en sus despachos se realice cuanto antes, contando como no dudo contará, con la cooperacion de las potencias europeas, y muy particularmente con la de Ynglaterra y Francia, las cuales así como España veran con satisfacion consolidarse en América un órden de cosas estable, una política verdaderamente nacional, producto de sus necesidades comunes y de sus mutuos recelos, y una bien entendida libertad que al paso que proteja su sistema de gobierno y sus intereses, les sirva para estrechar mas y mas los vínculos que les unen con el antiguo continente y sobre todo con la nacion de que proceden, que un dia se llamó su metrópoli y que se considera todavia por el afecto que profesa á los españoles de allende los mares como una madre cariñosa.

" No concluiré este Despacho sin advertir á V.E. que entre las bases de confederacion que me remite y que en su gran mayoria son aceptables y apropósito para alcanzar el obgeto de esa asociacion internacional, hay alguna que debe considerarse como contraria á los adelantos que tanto necesitan las repúblicas americanas, y que en nada contribuirá por otra parte á afianzar sus derechos legítimos y á desvanecer cualesquiera peligros que en un porvenir mas próximo ó mas remoto pudieran presentarse. Citaré á V.E., por ejemplo, la que exige el cambio de nacionalidad á los concesionarios de obras públicas como ferro-carriles y canales, pues ademas de que semejante prohibicion privaria á los paises confederados de inmensos capitales y elementos considerables de riqueza, no debe perderse de vista que las compañias ó particulares que concurren con su industria y sus fortunas á este género de empresas, ni van á promover perturbaciones ni tienen interés en que se promuevan; antes por el

contrario dan la fianza mas segura de estar identificados con la suerte de los pueblos adonde llevan una y otras.

" Con las gestiones sucesivas que el pensamiento de alianza ocasione, cree el Gobierno de S. M. escusado encargar á V. E. el mayor tino y la mas esquisita prudencia para no ofender la susceptibilidad de la Union Anglo-americana á pesar de que esta no podrá ver en el enunciado proyecto mas que una imitacion aunque imperfecta de lo que con brillante resultado llevaron á cabo las antiguas colonias inglesas despues de su emancipacion, y lo que hace siglos pactaron los cantones suizos y los Estados alemanes cuyas confederaciones, lejos de inspirar recelos á sus vecinos, son por ellos consideradas como una garantia de órden y de paz para la Europa entera.

" Sirvase V. E. dar las gracias en nombre del Gobierno de S. M. á los representantes de las republicas americanas que le autorizaron para trasmitir, como escepcion honorífica para nosotros el proyecto de Dieta, haciéndoles partícipes de los sentimientos espresados en este Despacho, y asegurándoles que ninguna nacion forma mas ardientes votos que esta para que aquella sea una verdad y para que una vez realizada contribuya al mayor esplendor y bienestar de la raza española en América."

De Real órden lo traslado á V. E. para su conocimiento y efectos oportunos, remitiendole copia del Despacho No. 20 del Ministro Plenipotenciario de S. M. en Washington y del proyecto de Confederacion de las republicas americanas.

Dios gue á V. E. ms. as. Madrid 22 de Marzo 1856.

JUAN DE ZAVALA.

S[eñ]or Capitan General de la Ysla de Cuba.

Está conforme.

[TRANSLATION]

OFFICE OF THE FIRST SECRETARY OF STATE.
DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Excellent Sir:

Under this date I say the following to Her Majesty's minister plenipotentiary at Washington:

" There have been received at this office of the First Secretary [of State] Your Excellency's despatches, marked numbers 18 and 20 and dated the 23d and 28th of last February, giving account of various conferences held at Your Excellency's house by the representatives of the Spanish republics and of the empire of Brazil, with the object of forming a species of confederation or diet to insure their independence, and inclosing in the communication of the 23d the proposed bases agreed upon at one of the meetings.

" This thought of close alliance and mutual defense, in which Your Excellency has taken so much part, cannot but merit the approval of Her Majesty's government, loyally interested in the development of those rich countries which during long centuries belonged to the

crown of Castile, and which have to-day and will always have in common with us the same history, customs, religion, and language. The Spanish republics, agitated by continued and sterile strife, which consumes their vitality and exposes them to the ambition of any strong power which may appear on the American continent, are more concerned than European states would be, to associate in order to make themselves more respected, and to submit their differences to a federative and superior authority in order to eradicate from among them the many germs of discord they now contain.

"Her Majesty's government is also pleased that the spirit of political intolerance which had previously controlled this idea of a Spanish-American Congress should have been laid aside, and that the empire of Brazil, an important nation, of a race akin to ours, and which in the progressive development of her institutions and of her industry is proving to her neighbor republics that monarchy, in the present situation of the civilized world, so far from imposing an obstacle to the liberty and prosperity of peoples, is one of their firmest supports and their most effective protectors, should constitute an integral part, and even be the seat, of the future confederation.

"It is therefore to be desired that the project of which Your Excellency's despatches speak should be realized as soon as possible, with reliance, I doubt not, on the co-operation of the European powers, and very especially of England and France, who, like Spain, would view with satisfaction the consolidation of a stable order of things in America, and of a policy truly national, the product of their common necessities and of their common apprehensions and of an enlightened liberty which, while protecting their system of government and their interests, would serve to link them closer to the Old World and above all to the nation of their origin, which once was called their mother-country, and which yet considers herself, because of the regard which she professes for the Spaniards beyond the seas, an affectionate mother.

"I will not close this despatch without stating to Your Excellency that among the bases of confederation remitted, of which the great majority are acceptable and suitable to obtain the object of this international association, there are some which ought to be considered contrary to the advancement which is so necessary to the American republics and which, moreover, will nowise contribute to assure their legitimate rights nor to remove whatever dangers may arise in the present or more remote future. I will mention to Your Excellency, for instance, that which requires a change of nationality on the part of those who receive concessions for public works, such as railroads and canals; for not only would a condition of this sort deprive the confederated countries of immense capital and considerable elements of wealth, but it should not be lost sight of that companies or private individuals who contribute with their industry and their fortunes to this kind of enterprise

neither promote disturbances nor think it to their interest that they should be promoted; on the contrary, they give the surest guaranties of being identified with the lot of the country to which they carry both their industry and their fortunes.

"Her Majesty's government considers it unnecessary to recommend to Your Excellency to use the greatest tact and the most exquisite prudence in the further steps which may be taken to carry out the idea of alliance, in order not to offend the susceptibility of the Anglo-American Union, in spite of the fact that it can see in the declared project nothing more than an imitation, though imperfect, of the union which the ancient English colonies so brilliantly achieved after their emancipation, and of those which centuries ago were framed by the Swiss cantons and the German states, confederations which so far from inspiring their neighbors with apprehensions are by them considered as a guaranty of order and peace for the whole of Europe.

"Your Excellency will please to convey the thanks of Her Majesty's government to the representatives of the American republics who authorized Your Excellency to transmit the project of the diet, making an honorific exception of us; inform them of the sentiments expressed in this despatch and assure them that no nation entertains more ardent desires than ours that the diet be an accomplished fact, and that, once realized, it should contribute to the greater splendor and well-being of the Spanish race in America."

By royal order I transmit this for Your Excellency's information and suitable purposes, inclosing copy of the despatch number 20 from Her Majesty's minister plenipotentiary at Washington and the project of confederation of the American republics.

May God preserve Your Excellency many years.

JUAN DE ZAVALA.

MADRID, March 22, 1856.

To the Captain-general of the Island of Cuba.

A true copy.

II. ESCALANTE TO ZAVALA

LEGACION DE ESPAÑA EN WASHINGTON.

Exmo. Señor.

Muy Señor mio;

En mi comunicacion f[ec]ha 23. del actual, manifesté á V. E. que, fijo constantemente mi pensamiento en asegurar por todos los medios imaginables nuestra hermosa Antilla, nada omitia por mi parte con los Representantes aquí de la America Española, á fin de que conjurasen el peligro que de esta poderosa República amenaza á aquellos Estados y que de otra manera necesariamente llegaría á comprometer nuestras mismas posesiones. Tambien indicaba á V. E. la entrevista tenida entre dichos Señores y el Ministro de Francia, quien me habia pedido le presentase á ellos; las dos reuniones celebradas ya; y por último, la prudencia y tacto con que procuraba conducirme y atendida

mi posicion oficial y las circunstancias de los Gobiernos representados.

Sin descanso en mis gestiones, puedo ahora comunicar á V. E. que ha tenido lugar nuevamente una junta privada, pero mas formal, en mi propia casa, á la cual han asistido los Representantes diplomáticos de Guatemala y S. Salvador, Nicaragua, Costarica, Perú, Venezuela y Brasil, únicos á la sazon en Washington, debiendo contarse igualmente con los de Méjico y Nueva Granada que se hallan ausentes. El resultado de esta larga conferencia ha sido acordar que se proponga inmediatamente á sus Gobiernos la conveniencia de formar una especie de Dieta ó Congreso, en que todos esten representados, y que provea á la defensa de la independencia comun y establezca relaciones de una union estrecha y permanente entre toda la antigua America Española y Rio Janeiro. Conforme al parecer de estos Señores los medios mas eficaces y adecuados para el logro del referido propósito y que deberian ser objeto de la discusion del pretendido Congreso, son las que se apuntan en el adjunto escrito no. 1, el cual han resuelto comunicar por mi conducto solo á España, si bien autorizandome á mi para que en nombre de ellos dé conocimiento verbal del asunto, aunque en concreto, á mis Colegas de Ynglaterra y Francia. Así lo he verificado, creyendo ambos Ministros de grande oportunidad este paso en el presente complicado estado de las cosas.

Todo lo que, como debo, me apresuro á poner en noticia de V. E.

Dios gue á V. E. ms. as.

WASHINGTON 28. de Febrero de 1856.

Exmo Señor, B. L. M. de V. E. su atento seguro servidor,

(firmado) ALFONSO DE ESCALANTE

Está conforme.

[TRANSLATION]

SPANISH LEGATION AT WASHINGTON.

Excellent Sir:

My dear Sir:

In my communication dated the 23d instant I stated to Your Excellency that my thoughts being constantly fixed on the preservation of our fair Antille by all means imaginable, I left nothing undone on my part with the representatives here of Spanish America in order that they might remove the peril which threatens those states from this powerful republic, and which otherwise will necessarily endanger our own possessions. I also reported to Your Excellency the interview between the aforesaid gentlemen and the French minister,[1] who had asked me to introduce him to them; the two meetings already held; and lastly the prudence and tact with which I endeavored to conduct myself in view of my official position and of the circumstances of the governments represented.

Having been unceasing in my exertions, I am now able to communicate to Your Excellency that a private but more formal meeting has

[1] Count de Sartiges.

since taken place at my own house, attended by the diplomatic representatives of Guatemala and San Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Peru, Venezuela, and Brazil, the only ones at this season in Washington. The representatives of Mexico and New Granada, who were absent, should likewise be counted on. The result of this long conference has been the determination to propose immediately to their governments the formation of a species of diet or congress in which all shall be represented and which shall provide for the defense of their common independence and establish relations of close and permanent union between all ancient Spanish America and Rio Janeiro. The most effective and adequate measures, according to the view of these gentlemen, for realizing the purpose indicated, and which should be made the object of discussion of the proposed congress, are those which are set down in the inclosed document number 1, which they have resolved should be communicated through me only to Spain, though authorizing me to give verbal information in detail to my colleagues of England and France. So I have done, and both ministers are of the opinion that the step is an exceedingly timely one in the present complicated state of things.

I hasten to inform Your Excellency of all, as is my duty.

May God preserve Your Excellency many years.

WASHINGTON, February 28, 1856.

Excellent Sir, Kissing the hands of Your Excellency, I am Your Excellency's respectful and faithful servant,

(signed) ALFONSO DE ESCALANTE.

A true copy.

III. THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION

Proyecto de una Confederación de los Estados independientes de la America española y portuguesa quedando todos ellos en el pleno goce de su respectiva soberanía y ligados solamente por la defensa comun de todos ellos.

Los obgetos de la Confederación solo serán, hacerse cada Estado mas respetable por la union de todos los Confederados; asegurar asi mas y mas la respectiva independencia, garantizarse mutuamente la integridad de sus territorios, afianzar la paz interior y exterior y estrechar los vinculos de la amistad y las relaciones de comercio que exigen la comunidad de intereses.

Las bases sobre las cuales podria establecerse la confederacion parece que serian las siguientes:

1a. Comprometerse los Confederados á no consentir ninguno de ellos que fuesen atacados por nacion alguna la independencia, ni la intregridad [*sic*] de territorio de otro confederado, mirando como enemigo comun al invasor ó al ofensor de cualquiera de los Estados de la Confederacion.

2a. Comprometerse todos á no ceder jamás, ni á enegenar [enajenar] ninguna parte de sus territorios, ni á consentir que dentro de sus límites se formen Colonias de naturaleza nacional extrangera, sino que por el

contrario todo colono al establecerse en los Estados Confederados esté obligado á renunciar á la nacionalidad de su origen jurando no reconocer otras leyes, ni otras autoridades, ni otra proteccion que los del Estado en que se establezca.

3a. Comprometerse del mismo modo á no conceder privilegios para hacer caminos, canales, ni obras semejantes, á ciudadanos ó compañias extrangeras, sino en el caso de que dichos ciudadanos ó compañias hagan la misma renuncia de su nacionalidad y contraigan la misma obligación que los Colonos de no reconocer otras leyes, ni otras autoridades, ni otra protección que la del Estado en que se hagan aquellas obras; evitando así que llegue el caso en que estos privilegios sean motivo de reclamaciones de Gobiernos extrangeros.

4a. Para estrechar la union entre los Confederados sería conveniente que serian tenidos los ciudadanos de un Estado en todos los demas como si fuesen nativos de ellos, menos para el desempeño de aquellos empleos que exigen el nacimiento en el Estado.

5a. Cada uno de los Estados que formen la alianza podría tener un representante permanente en la Córte de Rio Janeiro, en donde se deberia reunir la Dieta de la Confederacion á la cual pertenecería el arreglo de todos los negocios de interés y de beneficio general.

6a. En las discusiones que ocurriesen entre uno y otro Estado de los Confederados procurará la Dieta que se transijan las diferencias amigablemente, evitando con el mayor empeño que se turbe la paz entre los aliados, y tratando de qe. reyne entre todos la mas perfecta armonia.

7a. En el caso no esperado de que ocurra algun motívo de desavenencia entre uno de los Estados confederados y una Nacion extrangera, la Dieta examinará la cuestion observando los principios de una estricta justicia; y si hallase que el Confederado no tiene razon, procurará que ceda sus pretenciones, ó dé la satisfacción que sea debida; pero siempre resistiendo que se exija del Confederado lo que no sea justo, y lo que se oponga á los intereses de la Confederacion.

Esta conforme.

[TRANSLATION]

Project of a confederation of the independent states of Spanish and Portuguese America, all of them remaining in the full enjoyment of their respective sovereignty and allied only for the common defense of them all.

The objects of the confederation shall only be to make each state more respected by the union of all the confederates; to insure in this manner more and more their respective independence; to guarantee mutually the integrity of their territories; to assure internal and external peace and to bind closer the ties of friendship and the relations of commerce which the community of interests demands.

The bases on which the confederation might be established would seem to be the following:

1st. The confederates to bind themselves not to consent, any of them, that the independence or integrity of the territory of another shall be attacked by any nation, and to treat the invader or offender of any of the states of the confederation as a common enemy.

2d. All to bind themselves never to cede or to alienate any part of their territories nor to consent that colonies of foreign nationality shall be formed within their limits; but on the contrary that every colonist on establishing himself in the confederate states shall be obliged to renounce the nationality of his origin and take an oath to recognize no other laws, nor other authority, nor other protection than those of the state in which he settles.

3d. To bind themselves likewise not to concede privileges to make roads, canals, or similar works to foreign citizens or companies unless these citizens or companies renounce their nationality in the same manner and contract the same obligation as the colonists to recognize no other laws, nor other authority, nor other protection than those of the state in which they undertake such works; thus preventing these privileges from giving rise to claims on the part of foreign governments.

4th. To draw closer the union of the confederates it would be appropriate to declare that the citizens of one state should be regarded in all the others as if they were natives of them, except for the discharge of those employments which require birth in the state.

5th. Each of the states forming the alliance should be entitled to have a permanent representative at the court of Rio Janeiro, where the diet of the confederation should meet, to which should belong the determination of all matters of general interest and benefit.

6th. In the disputes which arise between one state and another of the confederation the diet will contrive to bring about an amicable settlement, avoiding with the greatest concern any disturbance of the peace between the allies, and endeavoring that the most perfect harmony shall reign among all.

7th. In the event, which it is hoped might not occur, that some cause of disagreement should arise between one of the confederate states and a foreign nation, the diet will examine the question, observing the principles of strictest justice, and, should it find that right is not on the side of the confederate, it will endeavor to cause it to yield its claim or to give the satisfaction which is due; but resisting in every case a demand on the confederate which is not just and which is contrary to the interests of the confederation.

A true copy.

4. *Letter of Stephen R. Mallory, 1861*

THE following letter, the manuscript of which is at present in the possession of the managing editor, was addressed by Stephen R. Mallory, Secretary of the Navy in the Cabinet of President Davis, to some friend in Florida. The name of the person to whom it was